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Old Sinhalese Embroidery.

Ethel M.Coomaraswamy.

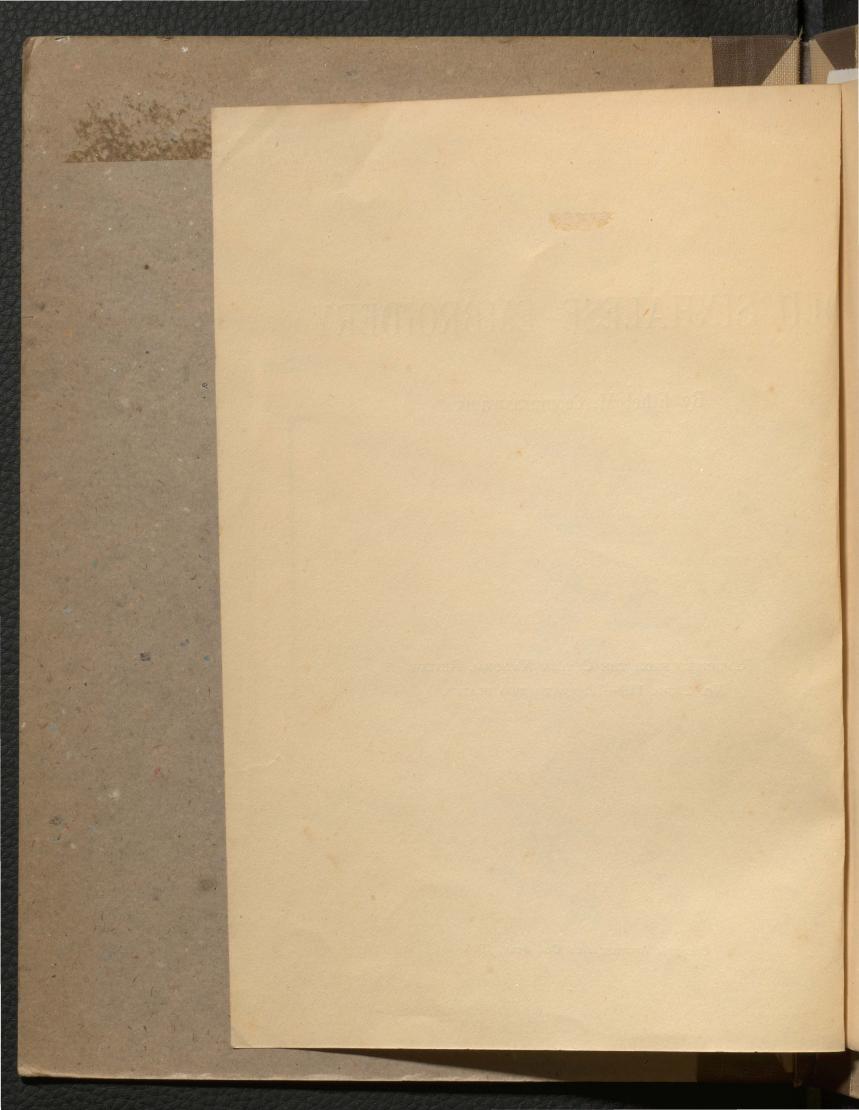
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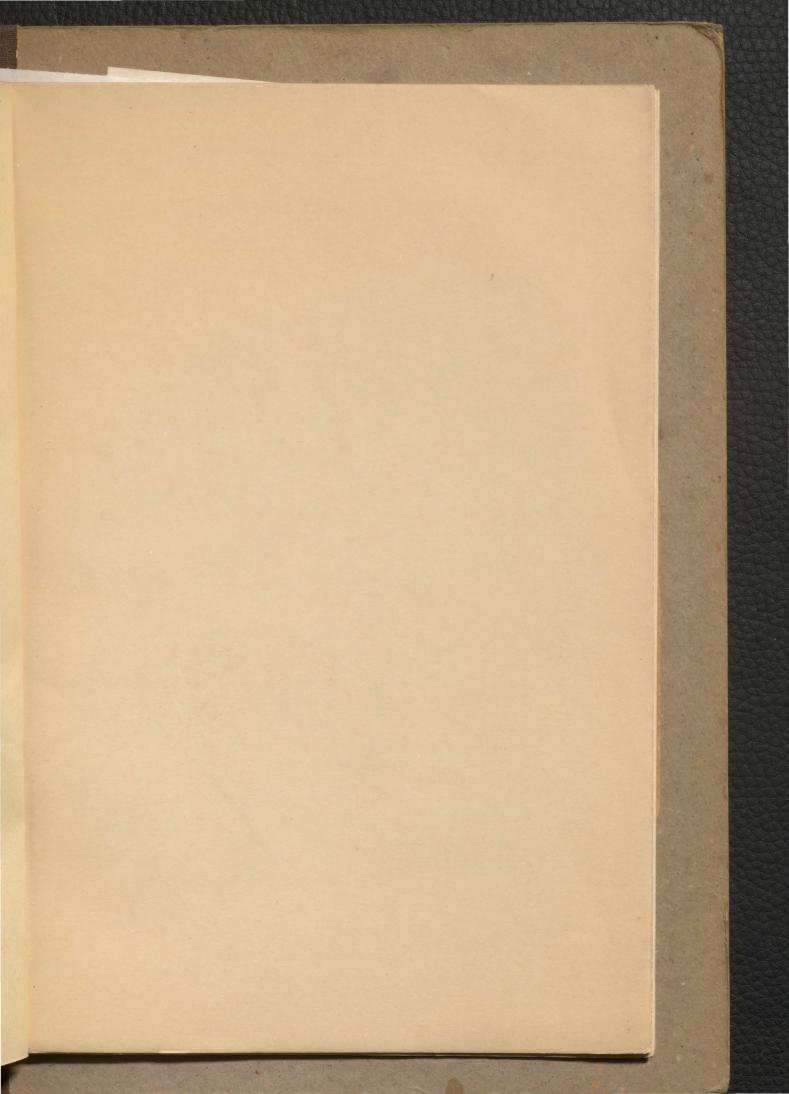


OLD SINHALESE EMBROIDERY

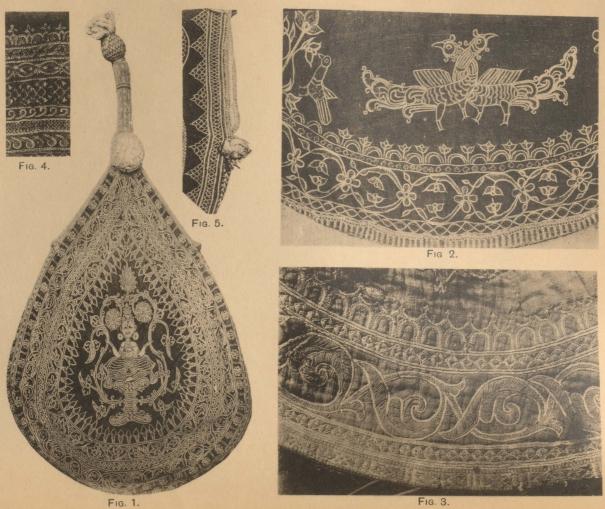
By Ethel M. Coomaraswamy.

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E.M. Coomaraswamy.]

KANDYAN EMBROIDERY.

Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Eng.

OLD SINHALESE EMBROIDERY.

PROPOSE in the following article to give a short account of old Sinhalese Embroidery both as regards the stitches, the designs, and the articles ornamented. One is hardly aware of the existence of such embroidery. The ordinary belongings of a Sinhalese house nowadays include none of it, although not so very long ago it must have formed a considerable part of the accessories of a home. This is how I first came to hear of such embroidery. I was staying at Haldummulla; we had a visit from an ex-Arachchi of a neighbouring village, who brought with him some of his household treasures to show us. Among them was a large bag, made of fine blue cloth with embroidered work on it in red and white cotton. He explained this was a precious possession which no money would make him part with. and that it had been in his family for generations. This was my first experience of this kind of work and I thereupon made up my mind to get to know more about it. Some months after this I saw another bag. and then found out that although this kind of work is now almost unknown, yet here and there in out of the way villages old men can be found who know the stitches, although they have almost given up making anything now. Many other things I also found out-how that it is owing to modern conditions of life that this fine art has fallen into decay; that now, even if people would work at it, they cannot; the cloth cannot be got, the colours cannot be got, the cottons cannot be bought, and the things that used to be made have gone out of fashion. The cotton was grown by the people themselves, they used to dye it with home-made dyes, and weave it into the cloth they wanted. Now all this is past; the fine blue hand-made cotton cloth that used to be universal, is now to be obtained only with the greatest difficulty, if at all. It is no longer made and dyed by the Sinhalese themselves. They still make the undyed cloth in a few districts, but that is not at all easy to obtain.

Cannot this ancient embroidery be adapted to modern uses? I think we shall find perhaps that it can. Although these large betel bags are no longer used, other things beside them can be ornamented; and is not the ornamentation of the common things of life a necessary adjunct to their enjoyment—both to the enjoyment of making them as well as to the enjoyment of using them? Our great-great-grandfathers thought so, and perhaps we shall come to see that their wisdom in some things is after all greater than ours.

I shall now go into the subject in detail, dealing with the materials used, the objects to which the embroidery was applied, the

designs and the stitches.

The Materials—Hand weaving was universal in Ceylon at one time; it is only lately with the introduction of machine made goods and the cheapening of all fabrics, that the art has practically been abandoned. It is still carried on by Tamils in the north and east but the tradition among the Sinhalese exists now only among a very few families scattered over the Island-probably not more than two or three at the most. The Sinhalese at one time were very clever in making a variety of woven cloths with patterns in blue and red on a white ground; and plain white, as well as blue cloths were commonly made in all the Kandyan districts. The loom (alge, ocod) in use was a horizontal one of the simplest construction. The worker sat on the ground, with his or her feet in a hole in front (alwala, adoc) in which were worked the heddles (aluwa, 400), and the long warp (nulheda, ञ्चलेकान) of the cloth to be made stretched out in front. The shuttle (nadawa, නඩාව) was thrown back and forwards by the hand, and the weft pressed home by a swinging comb suspended from a beam above; as the work progressed, it was wound on a square beam (onkanda, இ. அச) next the weaver. The cloth made varied in texture, some being quite coarse, while other cloths were very fine and soft. The usual width varied from 3 to 6 spans.

The white or rather ivory coloured cotton which was used for the weaving of the cloth and also for embroidery was made by the people themselves. They grew the cotton (Gossypium herbaceum), cleaned and prepared it for spinning and spun it; probably they also made and dyed the coloured cottons, but the little that is used now in weaving is imported from India through Batticaloa and this may have

been so even in bygone times.

Only the plain white and the blue (kalu kangan, ad anad) cloths are used in embroidery; embroidery is never applied to the ornamented woven cloths and very seldom to plain red cloth of native manufacture, except in the case of devil dancers' dresses, and one or two other exceptional cases.

The thread that was used for embroidering was of three colours, red and blue and undyed. Sometimes all three were used, more often only two, the cloth being the third colour. This was probably obtained

by the embroiderers from the weavers.

Beside the materials of native origin, cottons from India were used and of course, later, materials from Europe. I have seen also gold embroidery on blue velvet in a (sesata, odes) dating from Rajadhi Raja Sinha's reign, but whether the velvet was of European origin or came from India, it would be hard to tell. It certainly was not made in Ceylon, although the embroidery may possibly have been done here. There was also used in early times a red felt which may have come from India. It is a great wonder that with the textile wealth of India comparatively so near that more cloths of greater variety are not found here; and also that the Sinhalese did not develop the weaving industry to a greater extent. But the more elaborate kinds of weaving have never taken a great hold on the people. Time after time we hear of weaving being reintroduced by such and such a king. Some interesting accounts are given of it in the Janawansa:—(The Taprobanian Vol. I., Part III.) "when.....the supreme Narapati Wijaya was ruling Lakdiva (Ceylon), because there were no masters to weave state cloths and such things, though there were in his dominion people who had come with him and who knew weaving, sending to Dambadiva (India) many presents and provisions, fetching master cloth-makers, many people in Lanka were made expert in weaving. In order not to allow these master cloth-makers to return to Dambadiva, he gave them as property fields, gardens, etc," and later when such time elapsed that they did not understand weaving, afterwards at the time when the Narendra named Dewenipaetisa......became king of Lakdiva......a chief from among the Pesakaras (in India) was sent to Lakdiva by Dharmasokha; "taking with him the art of weaving Pesa cloths and others, he came, and was established for a long time."

Then "At a time later than this by Wijaya Bahu, then the Wattima king, who attained victorious state in the city Jambudroni, sending letters and presents with the Demala minister named Pati Mira Lebbe bringing eight master cloth-makers to Beruwella, giving them rice village in the district of Salawata, erecting there extensive halls, appointed them to weave; so that it should long afresh continue within Lanka, he engaged many in weaving, and appointed Tamils to give

thread and other necessaries."

Things embroidered—The objects to which the ordinary type of embroidery was applied were not many. Betel bags (bulat payi, across) are the most common, and these have been preserved in fair quantity. Other things, more rarely seen, are "handkerchiefs" t (lensu, odsta), caps,

[†] I have also seen gold embroidery used on some 18th century hats. ‡ Used as headgear, coverings for offerings, etc.

ladies' jackets (hetta, හැට්ට), pillow cases (kotta ura, කොට්ට උර), cloths for a game, and saddle cloths (palas, පලස්), the latter very rare; but pro-

bably all such things were ornamented at one time.

The specimens of Kandyan embroidery that are best preserved and most often met with are the betel bags. (Plate I. Fig I.) These vary in size from quite small ones carried in the waist belt, to very large ones four feet or more in length. These large ones were carried in wedding processions or when a person of importance was travelling on any great occasion; they were carried slung over the shoulder. The large bags are exactly the same in construction as the small ones—a bag of oval shape made of blue cloth lined with undyed cotton cloth, which opens nearly half way down the whole length at the sides; the inner part is separated into two divisions, this inner division, again, consisting of a double piece of cloth, is also used as a pocket; it has a very small opening at the upper end, through which spices, money and other valuables are put; the larger things were carried in the two outer pockets. The handle is also made of cloth, embroidered or of a band of plaited cord, and is finished off at the end with a beautifully and ingeniously worked hard ball (wegediborale, වේගෙඩ් බෝරලේ) and tassel (pohottuwa, පොහොට්ටුව). I have referred to the plaited cord of which the handles are sometimes made; for this, cotton cord of two colours is plaited into a thick stout flat braid which is very handsome and durable. It may be mentioned by the way that similar plaited cord strings, but round, of two or three colours are made by priests for ola book strings (pot lanawa, වෙන් ලනවා). The outside of the bag is embroidered both sides in red and white cotton with conventional designs, sometimes very elaborate and always good and appropriate. Bags of later make are often done in red cloth, probably because the blue hand-made cloth can no longer be obtained; some of these are equally good, the tradition both in design and stitches has been well maintained. But red cloth was also used in former times, as one of the most perfect small bags I have seen was of red hand made cloth embroidered entirely with silk—which is very exceptional.

Very few pillow cases have remained to us, but those that have, are generally of one type—a centre piece of blue cloth, embroidered with a design, and a border three or four inches wide, of a patchwork of red white and blue squares of cotton cloth. Probably an earlier type was one with an embroidered border instead of the patchwork, just as the later type is the kind completely made of patchwork; but I have never seen one. But as we find woven pillow cases of the same shape and size with patterns all over, so it is very probable that the better examples

used to be embroidered all over.

Devil dancers' jackets† used to be very beautifully embroidered and one finds even now specimens with good work on them. Good ones were

[‡] Yellow silk is sometimes used as an accessory in the best work. † Used only in Sabaragamuwa and the low country.

made of white home-made cloth embroidered up the back and fronts in red and blue cotton, the rest of the decoration being of appliqué work in red and blue. Red cloth was also used for these jackets. The design of embroidery on the two fronts and at the back is often very original and beautiful. Lotus flowers, cobras in various attitudes, and other designs are used even now, and in earlier times the designs were probably still

more elaborate and carefully worked.

Appliqué work deserves special notice in connection with Kandyan embroidery, as it plays a very important part in combination with it. The Kandyans knew how to use it very effectively. It was principally worked in two ways—either in broad masses, such as can be seen on flags, for example, a lion cut out in red cloth applied to a white background, and stitched round the edge; or the cloth to be applied was cut up in narrow strips and used as a ribbon following the outline of the design. This latter was the mode adopted in devil dancers' coats and dresses, and very fine effects are got in this way, as can be seen in a good example in the Colombo Museum; this is a dress in red cloth decorated with ribbon appliqué in white and blue. The strips of cotton are hemmed on each side with the raw edges turned in. It must have meant an infinite amount of labour, but the effect well repays the work. The front and back of the jacket as well as the tops of the sleeves have a conventional design, while the rest of the dress has borders of geometric pattern.

As for appliqué work in broad masses, it is doubtful whether this is of very ancient use. I have never seen a really old flag or curtain with this work used on it. My opinion is that where such appliqué is now used, formerly its place was taken by dyes painted on, but the knowledge of these dyes and their uses has disappeared and therefore now appliqué takes their place. There are two or three ways of stitching on the applied cloth; 1st, by hemming with the edges turned carefully in; 2nd, by a regulated running close to the turned in edge, and 3rd, by a chain stitch. I have not seen buttonhole stitch used, but it may have been. The sewing cotton is never the same colour as the cloth applied; if it is red appliqué on a white ground, the stitching cotton is white or blue and so on.

Another style of Sinhalese embroidery should be mentioned here probably quite as old as the betel bag style although very different in effect. It is used principally for lensu, (handkerchiefs) ladies' jackets, coverings for offerings and such like things. It is a work on white cloth in fine red and blue cotton. The two sides of the cloth when embroidered are exactly alike and it is probably done in this way—long even stitches are worked, leaving the same space at the back as on the front, then afterwards the back is worked the same as the front leaving the alternate stitches, so that an even line is got both back and front alike. This style of embroidery probably grew out of a copy of the woven patterns on cloths

as they give very much the same effect. One handkerchief I have seen was an exact copy of an interlacing woven pattern. I believe this work

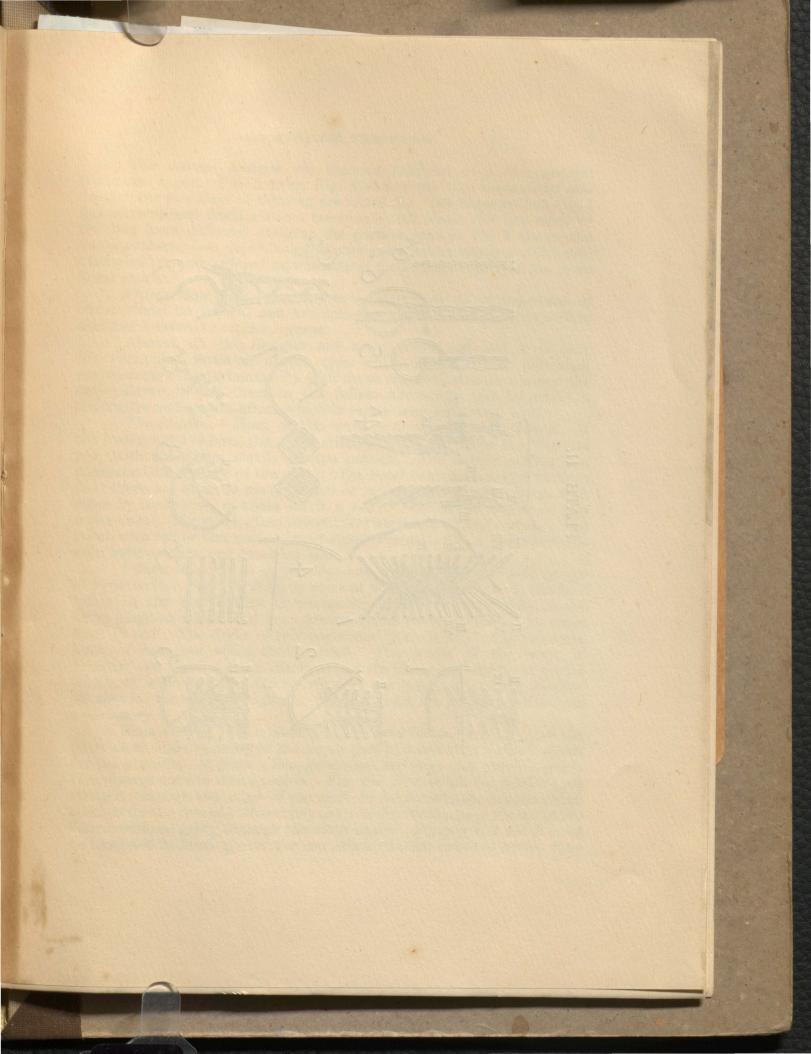
is now completely obsolete.

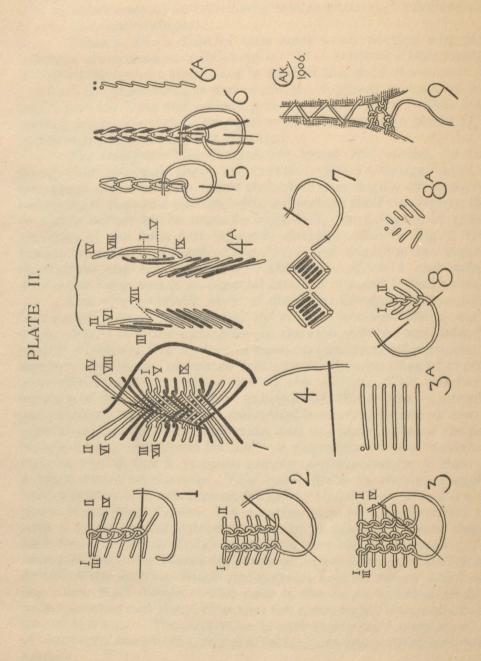
There is also a kind of lace made in connection with this work, which is often used as a finish to it. It is made of a buttonhole stitch. The same buttonhole stitch lace is used at the ends of seams in tuppoti, (about) and other large pieces of cloth. A gusset is made of it at each end 2 or 3 ins. long and widening to an inch or more. This manner of joining seams appears to be peculiar to the Kandyans (Plate II, Fig. 9.)

and is extremely strong and effectual.

The Designs—The designs are many and varied, no two ever being alike although there are certain types of designs always used, but these often vary so much that they can hardly be recognized as belonging to the same pattern. For example in the Frontispiece the upper or inside border is the same in Figs. 1, 2, 3 and 4, that is, they are all varieties of the pala peti, (across) design. Also in Fig. 2 the floral border which is a variant of the "reel and bead," is the same as the third from the top in Fig. 4. This is an ancient and wide-spread decorative form, and is an especial favorite in some Indian embroideries.

The characteristic style of design in Kandyan embroidered bags is a centre design, surrounded by various borders, filling out to the edge. Fig. 1 is a fine example. In the centre is the nari lata, (508,500) outside which are five borders of floral and geometrical patterns. These borders are always separated from each other by lines of chain stitch, generally two white with a red in the middle. The number of the borders of this bag is rather exceptional, there being generally only one principal floral (creeper, wela, Dic) border, with one or two narrow geometrical borders on each side, and an inner edge of the pala peti design or a conventional bo leaf. A degraded bo leaf design can be seen in Fig. 5, but it is more usually represented by a triangle with a small cross on the top. This small finish to the inner edge of the border is a most characteristic feature. Sometimes, as in Figs. 4 and 5. there is no floral border, but a series of narrow geometrical borders, with a large central pattern. In Fig. 4 beginning from the top we have first a pala peti design, then a narrow border of crosses, probably meant by the embroiderer for flowers; below this the "reel and bead" design; then another wider geometrical border, below which we have the cobra head design. The next is the seam covered with "centipede" stitches and then below that the cobra heads reversed on the other side of the bag. The outermost border in Figure 1 consists of a series of 'palmette' ornaments, the central element being filled with a chevron pattern.





The central designs are likewise confined to a few general traditional types. Frontispiece Fig. 1 shows the well known nari lata design; the two sides of this bag are identical. The Museum bag Fig. 2 has conventional floral centres combined with birds; the two sides of the bag have different designs; the portion seen in Fig. 2 shows the hansa puttuwa, (๑๑๘ ೮೦೦) design, of two geese intertwined, of which two examples are embroidered on one side of the bag accessory to the main floral centre.

Other bags have rosette (lotus) centres, or an arrangement of conventional bo leaves; one example has a cobra and elephant on one side and a ratsnake on the reverse.

Almost all the designs are quite traditional and it is only the particular variation of the type which is due to the individual embroiderer. Long familiarity with these ancient patterns enables the embroiderer to use them to the fullest advantage and to attain a decorative and restful effect which is rarely seen in modern work.

The Stitches.—Most of the work is done with chain stitch. If the background is blue, the chain stitch is a double outline in white and red, with the white usually on the outside. The double outline is a characteristic feature of the work. On betel bags the various borders (and there are often as many as five or more) are separated from each other by three rows of chain stitch, a red or blue in the middle of two white lines. The stitch often complicates itself and we find a white chain stitch with red or blue cotton intertwined, Plate II. Fig. 6, or sometimes with both colours, one on either side.

Filling in, such as in the face and arms of the nari lata design in Frontispiece Fig. 1 is done by rows of white chain stitch, in the face following the oval outline in successive circles to the middle, in the arms longitudinal parallel lines broken at the elbow and wrist by cross lines in red. The dress of this particular figure is worked in alternate lines of red and white chain stitch. The whole of the work in Frontispiece Fig. 2 is chain stitch, except the filling in of the floral border which is satin stitch. Other stitches are used, principally binding stitches for the edges of bags etc. Some of these are peculiar to Kandyan embroidery.

Plate II. Fig. 1 is a binding stitch used for binding together the outer cloth and the lining of the upper part of a betel bag where it opens for the pockets. It gives a firm good edge, and is an easy stitch to work. It is always done in white cotton. For the first stitch the needle goes straight through the edge of the stuff to be bound; the second stitch catches up the threads where they cross in the middle, as is shown in the figure, without going through the cloth again. Figures 1, 2 and 3 must be imagined as binding over the raw edges of cloth or over a seam; they

are drawn in the figures flat so as to make them clearer to understand. Fig. 3A is the back of the stitches in Figs. 1, 2 and 3; it should be

relatively narrower for Figs. 1 and 2.

Fig. 2 is also a binding stitch used in the same way as the stitches illustrated in Figs. 1 and 3. Beginning at I. the needle goes from II. to III. through the thickness of the cloth; between III. and IV. two buttonhole stitches are made looping into the first stitch across the edge. Then at IV. the needle goes into the stuff again and out to the other side. The buttonhole stitches of the next lines loop into the two stitches of the line above without going into the cloth.

Fig. 3 is the same as Fig. 2 except that there are three button-hole stitches instead of the two of the preceding stitch; also as in Fig. 2 the needle does not go into the cloth, between III. and IV. Both of these last two figures make an extremely firm and useful edge. They may be further strengthened by a coloured thread being intertwined on each side below the actual edge. This is often done in elaborate work.

Fig. 4 ("centipede stitch") this binding stitch is I believe peculiar to Kandyan embroidery, it is a very complicated stitch worked in two colours, necessitating two needles being used at one time. Sometimes even the three colours are worked together. It is used round the edge of bags. Its place is often taken by a narrow woven braid—very beautiful of its kind and very strong. But in most of the best worked bags the "centipede" stitch is used and it well repays the labour involved in working it. In Frontispiece Fig. 1 it can be seen on the left hand edge of the bag, and on the right hand lower corner; also on the right hand side of Fig. 5. In Fig. 1.

side of Fig. 5. In Figs. 2 and 3 the woven braid is used.

The method of working is as follows-at I. the white thread is brought to the front, the needle is inserted at II. and brought out at III. on a line with I. on the other side of the seam; it then goes back to IV. on a line with II. on the right hand side and is brought out at V. at a little distance below I.VI., VII. and VIII., are the same repeated, but after VIII. the needle is brought out at IX. at some distance below V., leaving space for two other stitches between; these stitches are begun below V. with a different coloured cotton (red) and worked exactly the same as the first four stitches; after they are completed the first needle is taken up again, the thread of which will come out on the right hand side just below the two stitches of the red colour. The next stitch is a little different, in that the needle does not go back to the extreme outside on the opposite side but catches down a stitch at about a quarter the width of the whole, as can be seen in the diagram Fig. 4. It then takes a slanting direction to the edge below the red stitches, still on the left side. Exactly the same is done on the right hand side and so on. The thread always goes back to its own colour, that is, if the white thread is being worked

it catches down a white stitch on the opposite side and so with the red. The backs of the stitches are seen in Fig. 4 A. If 3 colours are used, then more space must be left for the insertion of four stitches between V. and IX. instead of two only.

Fig. 5 is the ordinary chain stitch which is used so much in this

work.

Fig. 6 is also a chain stitch, but with coloured threads intertwined, one on each side of the needle as it is worked. Sometimes a red thread is used on one side and a blue on the other. Figure 6A shows the back of

Figs. 5 and 6.

Fig. 7 is a very usual combination of 2 kinds of stitches; it consists of two Y-shaped stitches held down by a stitch at the top and bottom thus forming a square, this is then filled in with a satin stitch of a different colour. This satin stitch is often used for filling in small squares and other spaces.

A buttonhole stitch is often used for the conventional foliage when it needs filling in as can be seen in the beautiful design of frontispiece Fig. 3. The design of this particular border is outlined in white and filled in with a red buttonhole stitch which widens or narrows according

to the space needed to be filled. It has a very rich effect.

Plate II. Fig. 8 is a feather stitch used occasionally for filling in a

space; 8a is the back of the stitch.

Fig. 9 shows the method employed in joining the seams of a tuppotiya. The seams are sewn close together though not overlapping and at each end the seam widens out into a kind of gusset, the space being filled up with a buttonhole stitch worked as shown, though often with much thicker and closer stitches. At the end of the seam this gusset may be 1 or 2 inches wide. It is a most satisfactory way of joining two pieces of cloth; there is no puckering and it is extremely strong. Every Sinhalese girl should be taught this way of joining a seam. It is entirely satisfactory and gives a spring to the edge which is quite desirable, and is extremely strong. So much for the stitches.

Conclusion.—There are extreme limitations in Kandyan embroidery but it is to these limitations that it owes its beauty and restraint. Introduce other colours or another style of design and the whole charm would disappear. The Ceylon inspectress of needlework says, "if Ceylon girls are to be taught decorative needlework, it should be of irreproachable quality and distinctive design, and applied as far as possible to useful articles only." The "fancy" work which has been in the past taught in the schools is in the worst possible taste, and everyone with any respect for their country at all should do their best to stamp it out. It is not indigenous, although by many it is thought to be, but has been introduced by Europeans from the type of embroidery that was in vogue a hundred

years ago or more when embroidery and design in Europe was at its most degraded period. Cultured Europeans do not tolerate it in their houses. If European embroidery is wanted, good embroidery can be done, only it will not be found to be of the type of a hundred years ago, or to be of that kind with patterns stamped on linen or cloth to be worked with shaded colours in silk or cotton that do not wash properly or else fade into bad colours; a style so well known among fancy bazaar frequenters. A good English embroiderer will design her own patterns, spend many months of daily work over a piece and at last produce something that will last for many years, perhaps generations, because worked on the best cloth and with well dyed cottons, wools or silks, with much time and thought given to it. The day of "fancy" work in England is over, it being thought that if embroidery is worth doing at all, it is worth doing well, and the English embroiderer now looks back to the golden age of English art in the 13th and 14th centuries when the 'opus Anglicanum' was celebrated amongst all the then known civilised peoples.

But you will say, why want English embroidery when there is more beautiful Eastern embroidery to be made and obtained. Some of the embroidered sāris and chadars of India and Turkestan have not their equal in the world for beauty of material, design and colour, and why cannot we go to them for our inspiration in embroidery? This old Sinhalese work compares very favorably with much Indian work and is such a distinctive product of Ceylon both in design and colour that it would mean a real loss to the world of art, were it allowed to disappear. And although in the past it was confined to the decoration of few articles, yet it can be adapted to all kinds of modern needs. But see to it, that you have nothing in your homes that you do not either know to be useful or believe to be beautiful; then the making of fancy articles such as antimacassars, embroidered pictures, cushions that cannot be used and other such like atrocities of modern days, will be banished for ever from our homes.

ETHEL M. COOMARASWAMY.

Description of Plate I. (Frontispiece).

Fig. I. Large betel bag (Maha bulat payiya, Da Dost Dac) 4' 4" long; blue cloth worked in red and white cotton, with a pale yellow silk introduced here and there. The bag is practically the same on both sides. It has an unusual number of borders, of which the innermost is an uncommon variety of the pala peti, (Dost) design and the outermost consists of a series of "palmette" elements; the centre is occupied by a nari lata, (Dost) (author's collection.)

Fig. 2. Part of another large betel bag, in the Colombo Museum, showing a braid used instead of the centipede stitch for binding the edge.

Fig. 3. Part of a betel bag belonging to the Ekneligoda family, borders very typical; buttonhole stitch used for filling in the main border; braid binding shows below.

Fig. 4. Border of a bag lent by Mr. Pohath Kehelpannala.

Fig. 5. Part of a red cloth bag, to show amu karala, (49 50) and mudum mesma, (95 0,20) ('centipede') stitches (the former along the opening above the tassel, the latter below the tassel; to the left appears a rather poorly designed border (author's collection.)

Description of Plate II.

Figs. 1-4; binding stitches: numbers 1-3 are used along the edges of the opening of bags, Fig. 4 around the whole bag; Fig. 2 is called amu karala, (42 56) (amu seed); Fig. 4 'centipede stitch' (patteya, coor mudum mesma, geo ore); Fig. 3a reverse of Fig. 3; Fig. 4a reverse of Figure 4.

[Fig. 1 is a buttonhole stitch, Fig. 2 a double buttonhole, Fig. 3 a triple buttonhole; Fig. 4 is an elaborated herringbone stitch peculiar to

Ceylon.]

Fig. 5 plain chain stitch.

Fig. 6 chain stitch with coloured threads added at the sides.

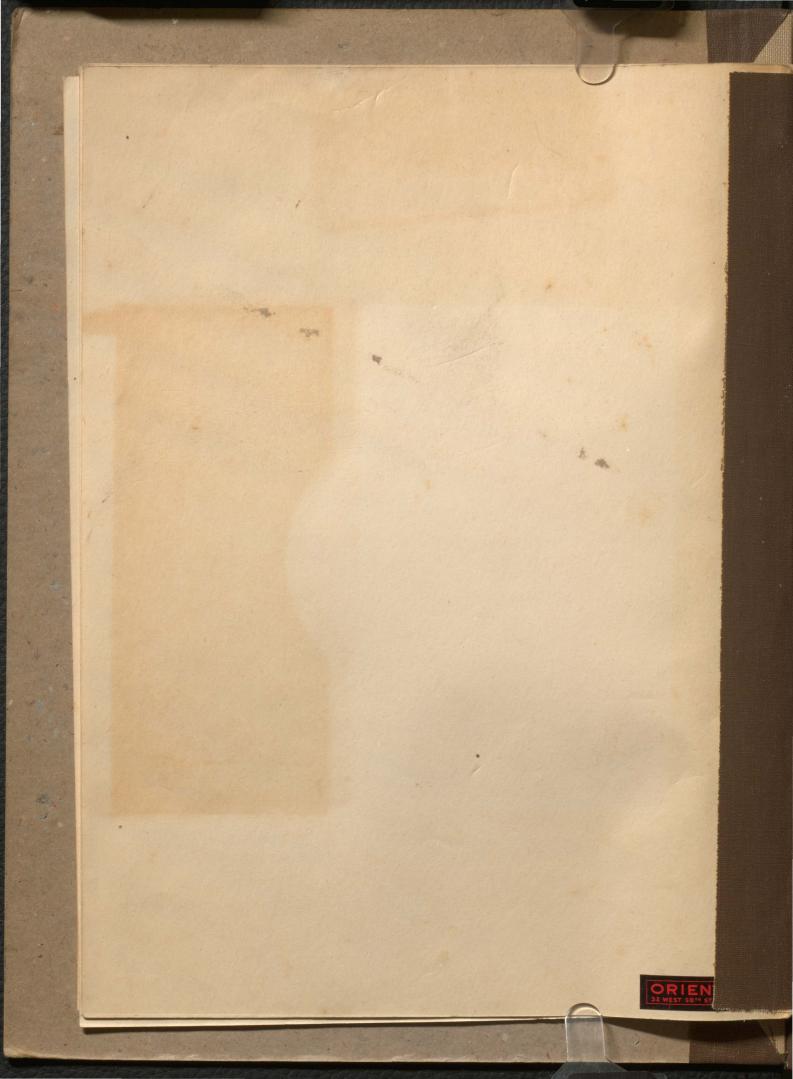
Fig. 6A reverse of fig. 6.

Fig. 7 a border pattern in two colours.

Fig. 8 herringbone stitch.

Fig. 9 method of joining two halves of a tuppotiya, (නුජලපාවිය); the plain work developes at each end into a buttonhole-stitch-lacework-gusset.

Note.—In the foregoing article, Sinhalese words are correctly transliterated, but diacritics are not employed. The actual Sinhalese word is quoted once in each case, in order to avoid uncertainty as to the correct spellings.



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